

RURAL
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN INDIA
OVERVIEW OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL FORM*

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PUBLICATIONS

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2. **T. S. Papola** : Small Scale Industries in Uttar Pradesh (Mimeographed Report, 1978)
3. : Spatial Diversification in Manufacturing Activity (Mimeographed Report, 1978)
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5. **H. S. Verma** : Post-Independence Change in Rural India (Published by Inter-India Publication, New Delhi, 1981)
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Rural Development Programmes in India : An
Overview of Their Organizational Form*

This piece examines the organizational structures used in different phases of rural reconstruction and development schemes in India from pre-independence period to the present juncture.¹ This historical analysis has two objectives: first, it indicates the character of organizational structures used and activities undertaken; secondly, it attempts to bring out the influences of previous experimentation on the evolution of the subsequent rural development programmes. The analysis is divided into five sections. The first section covers the experimentation of rural reconstruction which started with Sriniketan in 1921 and continued till the initiation of the official Community Development Programme (C.D.P.); the second section deals with post-Independence government sponsored programmes; the third one outlines the post-Independence experimentation undertaken by the non-governmental agencies; the fourth section brings out the weaknesses of various rural development programmes, and the last section highlights the

*This paper forms part of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled "Organisation of Beneficiaries and Party Intervention : A Comparative Study of Pre-1977 and Post-1977 Rural Development Programmes in West Bengal" currently underway. The author would like to express his indebtedness to his Supervisor at the Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow, Dr. H.S. Verma, for help and guidance and the Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi for award of Fellowship which has facilitated prosecution of the study. Whereas he has benefited from the Faculty of the Giri Institute of Development Studies, the views expressed are entirely his own.

¹This overview is not a Census of all the programmes of socio-economic change in rural India. On the other hand, it is selected and concentrates on the major ones among them.

rural development organizational model of West Bengal experimented in the post-1977 period.

I

Pre-Independence Experimentation

The rural development programmes introduced in post-independence period were not accidental efforts in the history of rural development in India. On the other hand, they had a long history of their own (Haldipur : 1974 : 30). In the pre-independence period, considerable experimentation on rural development had been done over a span of many decades and by many charismatic personalities. The organizational forms and contents of those experiments were not always similar to each other and they were conducted in isolated manner without any closer link or correspondence with others and limited within specific region (Verma : 1975 : 1). The period of experimentation examined in this section starts from 1921, the year when the noted poet Rabindra Nath Tagore started his rural reconstruction work at Sriniketan. Its tail end is 1952 when the official CDP was introduced. The major experiments of this period could be broadly divided into two categories: first, those carried out by charismatic leaders with or without outside resource support; second, those executed through individual initiatives generally but with the resource support of the state. The Sriniketan, Martandam, Wardha and Sabarmati, Nilokheri, and Etawah belong to the first category; Baroda, Gurgaon and Firka to the second one.

Experiments by Charismatic Leadership

Tagore's Sriniketan : The Sriniketan experiment covered a limited region of Birbhum district as resource and man power available with its initiators were very limited.² The main objective was improvement of the condition of rural people and making them self-reliant. As Tagore was a poet, special importance was given to art, music literature and informal process of education of the project population in the reconstruction work.³ The project administrative structure consisted entirely of voluntary workers and method of work was based on informal relationship between project officials and the villagers. Within the project organizational structure some new institutions were formed to take care of specific aspects of the programme. The health cooperative was, for instance, formed to look after the public health and hygiene; agricultural demonstration centre for increasing the production of agricultural goods and better distribution of seeds; handicraft and cottage industries training centres to improve the condition of cottage industries. All these organizations worked under the central project administration which was led by Tagore himself to overview the whole reconstruction activities. All these activities resulted in raising the

²As Bannerjee (1966 : 62) indicates, evidently he could not count on any assistance from the government of the country. He had to depend entirely on his own personal resources. This limitation would not allow him to operate on a big field.

³Tagore visualised a high standard of life which is full of vigour, joy, beauty and happiness among the peoples especially living below the poverty line (S.Das Gupta : 1962 : 2).

level of living and building up the confidence among the people regarding their own ability to develop - economically. In the later phase the attempt was eventually linked with Vishwa Bharati.

Hatch's Martandam : The Martandam experiment in Kerala was initiated by Spencer Hatch in collaboration with central YMCA of that area in 1921. The objective of this experiment was the development of rural people in all spheres of life through mental, spiritual, social and economic activities (Hatch : 1949). To implement the programmes of rural reconstruction, the existing organizational structure of the YMCA including its village level units of that area was used. The central organization acted as the project organization where authority structure was vested in the initiator and other leading figures of the experiment. The central YMCA organization was also used as demonstration centre which led the activities in every sphere of rural people's life. A cooperative organization was formed within the demonstration centre to spread the cooperative movement among the rural people and to make them aware of the benefits of cooperation. The structure of cooperative organization was totally informal to ensure people's participation in its activities. Only skilled and experienced hands were recruited for development work.

Gandhi's Wardha and Sabarmati : Gandhi's experiment of rural development in Wardha and Sabarmati was based on his idea of village Swaraj. Its objective was to develop village communities

as self-contained village republics. In this experiment, the Gandhian theory of decentralization of power was used where village level organizations were given almost all the responsibilities for the development. The central project team of voluntary workers handled activities related to inter-village issues (Kavoori and Singh : 1967). The other guiding principle of the experiment was that the deep rooted poverty can be tackled through indigenous techniques, village-based industries and cooperation among rural people. In relation to this basic assumption a three tier panchayat organization was introduced. These were responsible for different types of activities. Co-operative organization was the basis of both economic activities as well as social relationships. The promotion of village and cottage industries were also supervised by this organization at village level.

Dey's Nilokheri : S.K. Dey's Nilokheri experiment attracted widespread attention of all and influenced the post-Independence rural development schemes. It was concerned primarily with the resettlement of the refugees from Pakistan. The basic assumption of the experiment was that the village settlement was enabled to become a well integrated community where socio-economic structure operated as a single whole and right to equality was adopted by all the organizations connected with this experiment (Dey : 1962). The displaced persons were mobilized by a group of project officials to form an agro-industrial township with collective community structure acting as the centrifugal force for rural development. In this experiment, organization of

beneficiaries was formed for production of goods with active participation of common people within the agro-industrial township. The institutions attached with this experiment were vocational training centre, Mazdoor Manzil and Panchayati Raj. The vocational training centre trained the people to increase production; marketing of the product of the community and disbursement of financial assistance to the displaced with no capital were managed by Cooperative Society; Panchayats were responsible for village administration and general social welfare of the community. The Mazdoor Manzil worked as a project organization for total township (Dey : 1962).

Mayer's Etawah : The Etawah project was started in 1948 in Mahewa area of Etawah district by Albert Mayer, an architect and an urban planner by training (A. Thorner : 1981), in collaboration with the U.P. Government. It aimed to improve the production of goods and services on the basis of self-reliance and cooperation of the people (Mayer et al : 1959). Social development was initiated within the whole community. To administer the programme, an additional project organization was formed below the administrative structure at Tehsil level.

The introduction of multipurpose village level workers (VLWs) and subject matter officials was also an additional feature of this experiment. The VLWs were responsible for establishing contacts with the rural people, provide them knowledge about new ideas and enable them to obtain inputs. Subject matter officials were to sustain the efforts of the

VLWs. The project was headed by an official who co-ordinated the entire range of activities. The contents of the development programme covered agriculture, cooperation, education and other related areas. Planned efforts were made by the project organization to form village level committees for systematic planning. Programme formulation and implementation was, thus, made a joint exercise of the project officials and project population. Communication with people and co-ordination were identified as important tasks of this experimentation. The experiment was highly successful.

Experiments Involving Individual Initiative and the State Support

Bryne's Gurgaon : In early 1927, Bryne ~~started~~ an experiment of rural reconstruction in Gurgaon with the objective of spreading education, developing leadership pattern among villagers and inspiring them to work unitedly for total development of the community (Bryne : 1946; S.R. Verma : 1963). To popularise the programme of rural development one composite organization was registered as a non-profit, non-political, voluntary registered society under the Societies Act. Experienced and skilled persons supervised the activities, enthused the village population and acted as the local village level agents of the society.

Krishnamachari's Baroda : Baroda experiment of rural reconstruction was initiated by Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III of Baroda with the help of his Dewan, V.T. Krishnamachari. The

experiment involved comprehensive programmes of rural reconstruction which covered almost all the segments of rural people's life (Krishanachari : 1962). Whereas the entire administrative structure of the Baroda state supported this programme, a specific Coordination Department had representation of the government officials as well as non-officials. The entire range of the rural development activities were integrated. Concerted efforts of a number of institutions attached to the state administration were made to achieve the set goals.⁴

Reconstruction activities were administered through a three tier system of administration (village, Taluka, State) where village unit was the centre of development activities. To strengthen the activities at village and taluka levels some sort of local-self organizations were formed with a formalized structure. These organizations aimed to develop the individuals so that it could lead to the development of total community. To facilitate this, socio-economic legislations were also introduced. Those legislations attempted to change some basic structure of the then existing social and economic organizations. This also involved re-organization of the educational institutions.

⁴It involved collaborative working, intensive and integrated development, redefined administrative approach and some structural reforms (S. Dasgupta : 1962).

Firka Development : The Firka schemes of rural development were initiated by the undivided provincial government of Madras. The main emphasis of this programme was to introduce new administrative structure to strengthen the activities of rural development (Dayal : 1960 and S.N. Mishra : 1981). The institutional structure of the experiment was spread from provincial level to village level where the Director of Rural Welfare (DRW) was incharge of the provincial development administration. The district administrative structure which was engaged in this experiment was under the charge of the collector and he was assisted by Rural Welfare Officer (RWO). RWOs were incharge of two or three Firkas and five to ten Gram Sevaks were working under them. Firka organization, formed by fifty villages, also had some additional technical and professional officials looking after some specific activities. The Gram Sevaks or Village Level Workers were first introduced in this experiment. The Firka officials were also trained by the training institutions. In the post-Independence period, quite a few features of Firka scheme were incorporated in the Community Development Programme.

Pre-Independence Experiments : Character of Organizational Forms

From ~~the~~ foregoing analysis of pre-Independence rural reconstruction experiments, certain common strands as well as differences are easily identifiable :

1. In the early stage of experimentation, some of them were undertaken by charismatic figures like Tagore and Gandhi.
2. They all represented a systematic planning effort for rural development at local and project levels.
3. The geographical coverage of activities of most of the experiments was limited to a specified area as resource and man-power available with the initiators were very much limited.
4. Project organizations were formed in all the experiments to supervise the activities, but structure of those project organizations were not similar. Volunteer workers were incharge of all the activities in Sriniketan, Martandam, Wardha, Sabarmati and Nilokheri experiments. On the other hand, government officials, helped in a few cases by out-siders, were engaged in reconstruction work of Gurgaon, Baroda, Firka and Etawah projects.
5. The project organizations used different organizational stimuli. In Sriniketan, for example, main emphasis was laid on the cultural aspect of human life using music, art and informal relationship between officials and villagers. In Martandam, religious organizational structure was used for implementing the programmes of rural development. The Gandhian experiments at Wardha and Sabarmati was mainly manned by volunteers devoted to the cause of decentralization of power and self-sufficient village economy.
6. Although Baroda, Firka and Etawah experiments were generally forming part of the state administrative structures and efforts for rural development, their structural arrangements had independent distinctive features. Of the three, Baroda and Firka had multi-level administrative structures from provincial to village levels but Etawah was only a localized project organization structure. The Firka and Etawah experiments involved for the first time use of paid government multi-purpose workers for rural development at local level. Nilokheri's organizational model involved the use of cooperative marketing society and generally a greater community initiative in the management of different activities as opposed to the use of paid officials or voluntary workers in many other experiments. In this project the development of community's capacity to manage its own affairs was the guiding force.

The fact that all these experiments were fairly successful in some of their respective locals indicated effective deployment of different organizational forms. Leadership, therefore, was the crucial denominator in each case which contributed a great deal to ^{the} success of the projects. Yet, the fact remained that these experiments had yielded a common organizational solution for undertaking planned social change in the Indian society.

This solution was ^{the} establishment of a delivery system between a regulatory form of insulated administrative set up and the institutionally unequal structure of the society. This delivery system was not altering the fundamentals of the two structures but was operating within the constraints imposed by both. Predictably, in the long run the institutionalised inequalities were to eventually enveloped them after the initial enthusiasm and objectivity of the delivery system personnel had died down.

II

Post-Independence Programmes of Rural Development

Between the rural development experimentation of the pre-Independence period and the formal initiation of the generalized official Community Development Programme (CDP), introduced in India in October 1952, considerable amount of discussions and debate had ensued between some of the pioneers of these experiments, Prime Minister Nehru and the American institutions

and interests. It is true that the CDP incorporated different elements from different experiments conducted during the pre-Independence period. Yet, the fact remains that the Etawah model was the one which exerted decisive influence on it. Several considerations appear to have contributed to this choice:

1. During the freedom struggle, rural development and reconstruction was a major theme on which continuing dialogue had been going on within the Congress Party. The Congress leadership also made public pronouncements and 'commitments' regarding the objectives and thrust of the rural development programme once independence was achieved.⁵ This 'commitment' was to be translated in such a fashion as ~~not to~~ violently upset the existing structure of socio-economic relationships in the Indian society (Frankel : 1978:3; Misra : 1974). This limiting factor narrowed the choice of the content of rural development programme, organization, and legislative thrust which came to be adopted by the Government of India later on.

2. The personal ideas and values of important Indian leaders were the second major influencing factor. Gandhi was, for instance, in favour of self-sufficient village economy and

⁵Of course, this 'commitment' was not confined to rural people alone: as put very perceptively by Desai (1973 : 76), it promised solution to the miseries of nearly all diametrically opposing groups (peasants and workers, employed and unemployed, artisans and middle classes).

self-reliant village community, utilization of manpower and indigenous technology and resources. Prime Minister Nehru was personally interested in introducing some what 'more radical' programmes based on democracy, socialism and modern technology to solve the urgent problems of rural development. He wanted to use the community development as 'a means, a vehicle to remove poverty from the Indian villages'. Krishnamachari, on the other hand, felt the need to help the people to find their own solutions of specific problems of rural society. Dey laid special emphasis on people's participation and utilization of local initiative for the economic development of the whole community.

3. At that point of time, organizational alternatives available for rural development were many and the Government of India, under Nehru, were aware of their existence. Some official level deliberations in the form of Committee reports (Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, Narielwala Committee) have also been going on. There were also vigorous impression management efforts being made by some Indians like Dey, on the one hand, and Chester Bowls and other American interests on the other. At stake here was quite a consequential political option which was to largely decide the future course of history in the Indian sub-continent. While Nehru was very much impressed by the Nilokheri experiment and was intending to use Dey's dynamism

and enthusiasm for rural development subsequently,⁶ it is significant that Dey's Nilokheri organizational model was given a convenient to by and the American inspired Etawah model accorded for adoption in the CDP. As Verma (1980 : 24) comments, much against the run of the mill objectives of the CDP in India listed by many scholars (Dayal : 1960; Dey : 1962; 1969; Ensminger : 1972; Jains : 1967; Kavoori and Singh : 1967; Krishnamachari : 1962), the dominant objective in introducing it was to contain ^{the} spread of communism. Chester Bowles (1954) who brought along the massive U.S. assistance for this Programme, admits it much without fuss. The strong point of the Nilokheri model was integration of its skill upgradation, co-operativization of its production structure, building the capacity of the community to manage its own affairs and reduction of the scope of exploitation by the middle men through mechanism of marketing structure. Acceptance of Nilokheri model would have triggered a major structural change in Indian society. This was neither to the liking of the hard core of the Indian leadership nor the Americans. The Etawah model provided the convenient organizational choice which offered certain palliative and yet no major structural change.

⁶ Prime Minister Nehru's visit to Kurukhetra came in the first week of April 1948 and on his way from the office of Dey, he told "Yeh Ho Sokta To Kyon Nahin Hota Hai" and in the public meeting before leaving for Delhi, he declared that he would like to see a thousand town **Thips** in India humming with the music of the muscles as he heard in vocational training cum production centre in the camp of Kurukhetra' (Dey : 1962 : 17 - 18).

Community Development Programme : Strategy and Organisational Structure Over Time

The official CDP was introduced in October 1952. Its main objective was the 'total development' of the rural people (Deshpande : 1968), to increase production through application of scientific technology as well as better utilization of human resources and extension of the principle of cooperation. In the strategy used, community development was regarded as the method and the National Extension Service (NES) as the agency for socio-economic transformation of rural society. The programme was intended to 'secure the peoples' right to live in rural areas, to earn a living and the right to receive what they earned (Krishnamachari : 1962). It was not only aiming to improve the material well being of the society but also to build-up community as a whole through their own efforts.

The objectives and strategy of CDP have continued to shift periodically ever since its introduction in 1952. At the time of its introduction it was expected to be a generalized programme of rural development embracing within its ambit different aspects of rural life. However, as Second Five Year Plan began, the emphasis shifted to industrialization in which diversified agricultural production was to play a helping role. The CDP was, therefore, used to increase agricultural production. Land reforms, and strengthening of the rural institutional infrastructure (through cooperative and Panchayat Raj) followed. Consequently, machinery of the CDP was organically linked with the newer set of institutions with the avowed aim of "facilitating people's participation".

The Third Five Year Plan emphasized increased agricultural production and development of human resources. The CDP was expected to play its part on all these fronts. Between 1962 and 1971, the country had to fight three wars (one with China and two with Pakistan) and CDP machinery was activated to provide civilian support to the defence efforts. The approach to rural development from Fourth Five Year Plan onwards has been specific function, area and target group based development. The CDP objectives have, consequently, been modified to that extent. Historically, the aims and objectives of the different Five Year Plans on the one hand and periodic contextual requirement on the other, have tended to significantly affect the functioning of the community and rural development programmes in India. The absence of mutuality, coherence and compatibility between the two sets have quite often created operational and methodological problems (Jain : 1967). The short-term and long-term goals appear to have been pursued with the assumption that there was no contradiction between the two and the same organizational set-up of CDP could handle additional functions without seriously affecting its operational efficacy. Whereas some of the historical demands on the CDP were understandable in terms of economic and military compulsions, the political parameters of such a system of administrative arrangements have not been adequately taken note of. To that extent, goal and objective setting and organizational designing for rural development have been a casualty (Verma : 1975).

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of the CDP has evolved itself over a period of time. The journey from Community Projects to Community Development to National Extension Service to linkage with the Co-operatives, Panchayati Raj institutions to coexistence with a larger number of other rural development institutions established at various levels after the mid-Sixties has been an eventful one. In this journey although there have been minimal changes in the structure of the community development block itself, its overall structural relationships, both horizontal as well as vertical, with other institutions have changed considerably.

As indicated earlier, the organizational structure of the Community projects and the CDP was largely borrowed from the Etawah experiment. This was first large scale experimentation of project management structure in India. The original organizational structure of Community Projects was first administered through the Community Project Administration located in the Planning Commission and later on converted into an independent Ministry of Community Development. The organizational structure had four major units: the central, state, district and project administrations. At the bottom level, the village units were served by Village Level Workers (VLWs) and trained Dias. These VLWs served as the 'agent of the change' to communicate between village and block level organization and supervise the activities at the village level. Below the Tehsil level, a new spatial

administrative structure was introduced where the Block Development Officer (BDO) was in-charge of all the activities and he was assisted by Extension Officer (EOs) in different specific areas. The EOs were to work as supervisors for the VLWs, on the one hand and assist the BDO on the other. Thus, the EOs were subject to dual control : administratively they were controlled by the BDOs ; their technical control was vested with their departmental officer at the district level.

At the District level, the administration was headed by District Development/Planning Officers. The State level organization was headed by Development Commissioner to coordinate the activities at state level and stat advisory committee was formed to supervise the activities.

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The organization structure of the CDP led to the emergence of an administrative structure below the Tehsil level for the first time in India. The primary objective of the structure was to facilitate penetration of change stimuli into the social structure of the village society. However, apart from the peripheral organizations such as Mahila Mandal and Yuvak Mandal Dals, no attempt was made to organize the village society on any class/segmental basis. Predictably, village leadership was used, at the local level, as major instrument facilitating not only the entry of development programme but also the salaried officials, so called outside change agents. After sometime it dawned on the persons concerned that the people themselves were not sufficiently involved in the CDP. This realization found

its expression in the **recommendations** of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee report and paved the way for introduction of the Panchayati Raj (PR) structure. The PR mechanism actually largely legitimized the hold of the traditional landed and other vested interests on the block development apparatus.⁷

Block System : Static Structure and Changing Relationships

The basic structure of the Block, which was introduced in 1952, has remained relatively unchanged. Only after the mid-Sixties, some of the positions of extension officers (specially females) were withdrawn as the funds dried up for this programme when the community development became the exclusive responsibility of the states. During this lean period, the block organization had largely no programmatic funds available and when the function, area and target group based programme (IADP, DPAP, HAD, TAD etc.) were introduced in the late Sixties, the block personnel were re-deployed to implement these programmes. This was also during the lean period the Block organization started getting routine and regulatory functions (such as issuing permits for supplies, relief work during drought or flood or natural calamities). One of the growing ironies of development

⁷The Panchayat Raj structure itself, with minor exception of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, has really not resulted in decentralization of political power. In fact, in most of the states election to these institutions have been kept in abeyance for as long as ten or twelve year under one pretext or the other.

organization designing in India has been mushrooming of a large number of project administrations working in the same geographical areas. The customary device used in such situations has been addition of one more coordination committee with the organizations themselves and their employees quite often functioning without any proper task and role integration. This has been the fate of the block structure as well in India. To re-emphasize, the block was a fresh spatial administrative unit below Tehsil level brought in the early phase of the rural development : subsequently, several other development organizations arrived on the scene as independent project administrations operating with some district level staff generally from the district level. The Block organization has been required to function within the comity of these organizations after 1968, and help them in their programme execution.

Thus, it is obvious from the foregoing analysis that the task being handled by the block personnel has been increasing as the time has passed : only its major portion has consisted of actions and activities concerning the work of other development organizations in the latter part. This additional work load is largely of regulatory type and involves quite often liaison work with the officials of different organizations on behalf of the beneficiaries. The block personnel were expected in the heydays (1952-1967) of CDP to remain in the village and communicate with village people. They were doing so untill the mid-Sixties. The tenor of these exchanges has now generally got reversed. Even the VLWs do not live in the villages now and it is the rural population which comes to meet to block officials rather than the later doing so.

When the CDP started as a movement the block functionaries were working with zeal and enthusiasm. Since the block agencies were new they were also relatively free from institutionalised inequalities of Indian rural social structure. However, as the time passed and that peculiar practice of politics increased segmentation of rural society, gradually the relative insulation of the block system from the institutionalized inequalities in the Indian society crumbled. As a result, the operation of block system also began to reflect the structural inequalities of the larger society (Hale : in press). This is where the block organization stands today.

Generalized to Specific Purpose Organizational Strategy of Rural Development : CDP to IADP

The CDP generally contributed to the improved performance of Indian agricultural during the period 1952-59. In 1960 the Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) was selectively introduced throughout the country. Its introduction marked a distinctive shift in emphasis from generalised approach of rural development to specific concentration of efforts on agriculture not only in IADP areas but also in the entire country.

This shift had disclosed simple and undisclosed subtle ideological motives. The simple objective was to increase per unit productivity of land cultivated through the application of new agricultural technology, increase production of food

grains and meet the acute food shortage being experienced by the country at that point of time. The second objective was much more consequential^{i.e. a} change in the production system of the Indian agriculture. The CDP had generally laid the foundation for introduction of this strategy by demonstrating the gains from application of improved agricultural methods. This was a stage where the Indian farmers were psychologically ready to be persuaded to make a break from the traditional subsistence, relatively in dependent agriculture to commercial agriculture involving, among other things, use of a sophisticated package of inputs provided by a wide variety of outside agencies. Quite naturally, it involved introduction of a large number of input servicing institutions on the scene. The American interests had already helped in laying the scientific institutional base (in the shape of ICAR, IARI and a large number of agricultural universities following American land grant pattern) and were hoping for the take over of the Indian agriculture by their multinational corporations through the supply of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, pesticides, and technological know how.⁸

The IADP approach emphasized^{the} use of a package of improved practices in agriculture (seeds, irrigation, chemical fertilizer, plant protection, and credit). To spread this intensive

⁸Evidence to support this argument can be found in the series of negotiations held with the Americans by the Government of India during this period. Of course, not everything turned out as they had bargained for.

approach in the field of agriculture the strengthened NES was used as a means. This shift of approach led to some significant change in the organisational set-up of the block administration. The staffing pattern as well as web of relationships of block personnel changed significantly. The number of the EOs and ^{the} VLWs increased at different levels of administration. At the district level a new project management team was established.

IADP Organisation Structure as Recommended by the Ford Foundation and Government of India

To implement the IADP strategy, the Ford Foundation inspired 10-point programme provided a model of organisational structure at various level of IADP administration (Ford Foundation : 1959). It was divided into the central, state, district and block levels. In this hierarchy, special attention was given to the district level organisation. At the central level the programme was sponsored jointly by the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperatives. The state organisation consisted of state level officer designated by the state department of Agriculture to coordinate the extension activities. At the district level Deputy Commissioner/District Magistrate was incharge of all the activities. The officer in-charge of the Pilot-Programme was directly responsible for all aspects of the programme. The district development/planning officer was also directed to work for project activities. A team of four or five subject matter specialists worked under the project in-charge for

various technical aspects. Other than these, Assistant Registrar, District Livestock Officer, District Information Officer, Agricultural Officer, were given some responsibilities for project work. To maintain co-ordination in the activities, District Development Committee and Programme Advisory Committee were also proposed in district organisational structure. The block level organisation was to be strengthened with additional EOs and VLWs and used for IADP work. The BDOs, EOs and VLWs were to be placed under the administration of the officer in-charge.

The Practiced IADP Organisation

All the state governments accepted the spirit of the suggestions made by the Government of India ^{and} guide-lines regarding organisational structure of the IADP, but in the actual structuring of the IADP organisational chart made specific departures of their own. The IADP structures of Thanjavur, Ludhiana, Surat, Sambalpur, for example, made significant departures from the guidelines given under the 10-point programme. In case of Thanjavur, no separate officer was appointed at the State level for IADP purposes and Directorate of Agriculture was the head of the state level organisation. The Project Director and subject matter specialist at the district level were very high level officials. Another feature of the organisational structure was that other institutions dealing with agriculture were, by and large, brought under the administrative control of the IADP Programme Director. It made him

a very powerful officer at district level. In Ludhiana, IADP was in the hands of ^{the} Director of Agriculture at state level. At the district level, Package Project Officer (PPO) was incharge of implementation of IADP, assisted by six subject matter specialists and seven other officers. The Deputy Commissioner was overall controlling and coordinating officer and also Chairman of district level Coordination Committee. At the block level, the IADP organisation concentrated within the block administration where the BDO was ^{the} administrative head. The BDO was under control of the PPO and EOs were administratively under the control of the BDO and technically under the DAO. In this structure PPO was Class-I officer.

Two patterns of relationships between the IADP organizations and the new technology generating agencies (agricultural universities and research institutions) emerged. These patterns were typified by Thanjavur and Ludhiana. The Thanjavur pattern involved the direct control of agricultural research institutions by its Department of Agriculture and demonstration on the Plot of the farmers new technological developments. This reduced the time gap between knowledge generation and knowledge used. The Ludhiana pattern involved coming together of the IADP and the agricultural universities extension personnel in quickly carrying the new technology developed on the farms of the farmers and also a direct relationship between the farmers and the agriculture university.

Differences Between IADP and CDP

There were some significant differences between IADP and the generalised CDP:

1. **The** IADP was concerned only with agriculture whereas the CDP was a much more comprehensive development programme.
2. Under the IADP approach, technical assistance was provided to the farmers to prepare the "Production plans" which was not the case under the CDP.
3. The cultivators were simultaneously helped to obtain supply and services at "proper time" through a network of input servicing institutions. The demands of supplies and services were met more substantially under the IADP than the CDP.
4. The credit disbursement policy in CDP was based on the principle of credit worthiness. Under IADP, all such farmers were expected to be given credit facilities who had their production plans ready and had joined in the activities of IADP (Verma : 1975 and Gaikwad et al : 1977).

Effect of IADP on CDP

The introduction of IADP approach affected the generalised CDP in several ways. The IADP districts were supplied a reasonable amount of money for its programme and its officials

were empowered to draw additional funds for IADP from the budget of CDP. So, the funds earmarked for various activities were used only for agricultural development which was one among the many components of rural development under CDP.

The total work-load at district and block levels increased several times through ^{the} introduction of IADP design. However, the additional as well as the existing personnel were generally deployed for agricultural programmes. Thus, most project officials spent their time almost entirely for agricultural programme. In this kind of situation, the funds meant for other CDP components were not utilised in the absence of efforts by the officials and the programmes were badly overlooked and neglected.

Under the IADP, district organisation became the centre of all the activities for agricultural development. The importance of block unit, which was given special importance for community development, was used to supervise the IADP activities and was consequently some what down-graded. So, in this process the decentralisation of development administration which started with the introduction of CDP was reversed.

Extension of IADP

The CDP was extended throughout India through the mechanism of NES. In IADP also similar expansion was attempted although in limited areas, through the Intensive Agriculture

Area Programme (IAAP). The IAAP contained more or less similar type of activities. However, the staff was diluted significantly. The number of functionaries at block level were : only 15 VLWs and two EOs; at district level, District Agriculture Officer/Project Officer was incharge of all the activities. The central organisation for the IADP took charge of the IAAP also, and thereby diluting the coverage of specialists for the field programmes. At a slightly later stage another intensive agricultural programme of High Yield Varieties (HYV) was introduced which again followed the strategy of introduction in selective places and subsequent extension to a larger number of areas with minor changes in the number of officials working under the programme.

Specific Purpose to Specific Area Development/Target Group Based Rural Development Organisations

The IADP strategy gave way to area-based development strategy during the period of Fourth Five Year Plan. Under this strategy, the rural development efforts were concentrated in specific areas which were affected by certain area-based problems (like drought, flood etc.). Specific area problem based programmes such as the Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Hill Area Development (HAD) and Command Area Development Programme (CADP) were introduced. The shift of approach from intensive development to the area development created an important change in the administrative structure of the rural development agencies. These new institutions were

registered under the Societies Act. In these programmes, the district project organization became the centre of planned activities.

DPAP

The DPAP Cell of Government of India issued guide lines for the execution of programmes enlisted in the DPAP list. According to these guidelines, DPAP ~~as~~ to be executed with the help of the existing agencies and Departments engaged in the development activities at the district levels. The project administration of the DPAP at district level consisted of District Collector as the Project Director. The Additional District Magistrate (Projects) ADM(P), became the Secretary and heads of various Departments acted as the members of the project administration. Some non-officials (MPs and MLAs) were also made members 'to ensure better coordination of activities'. The main responsibility of the district organization was to coordinate the activities of various departments (i.e. irrigation, forest, agriculture, animal husbandary and cooperatives). Some additional officials (such as Project Director, Project Economist, Credit and Planning Officers) and some other technical staff were added to this new organization. However, these were simply new additions to the existing district administration without any radical restructuring of administrative system and were used for the CDP first and later for intensive development programmes.

HADA and CADA

In response to the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission and National Commission on Agriculture, the Central Government decided to form Command Area Development Authorities (CADA) for 'fuller and better utilization of irrigation facilities'. The CADA are mainly coordinating and supervising agencies. These are headed by a Commissioner as Chairman : Heads of related Departments act as the members. The Hill Area Development Agency (HADA) were formed following the same principles and working through integrated development schemes to solve the specific problems of hill region.

There were important differences between IADP and area based development approaches. First, the IADP approach concentrated only on agricultural development whereas the area-based approach like DPAP was concerned with a package of programmes that included agriculture and allied activities. Second, in the IADP approach, existing block and district administration was used with some minor additions. Under area development strategy registered agencies were formed under the Societies Act. Of course, the formation of an agency was done primarily to save the funds from getting lapsed at the end of the year.

Target Group Based Organizations

The traditional belief of the planners and policy makers of rural development during the post-Independence period was

to visualise institutional net-work for the economic development of rural poor centered around the bureaucratic structure from central to block levels. The introduction of Panchayati Raj and other institutions to fill up the gap between the people and bureaucracy was not successful due to vested interests' intervention in all these institutions. So, the gains of rural development activities failed to reach the rural poor.

The organisational pattern used in all the programmes ignored the need for institutions at the micro-level through proper decentralization of power. The programmes were administered in a top-down manner where participation of beneficiaries in the development activities was not considered. The target was marked for rural poor but in rural society this segment was very unorganized and it needed some concerted attempts to organize them. In most cases major responsibility to organize the rural poor at village level was given to VLWs. But except in some cases, the VLWs are not local men and lived near to block office or nearby towns. They were generally not interested to take care of all the activities at local level (Hale : in press). The village people were forced to contact the officials for information or other help related to the programmes. The micro level institutions were not strengthening the activities at local level.

It was in the above context that the All India Rural Credit Review Committee of 1969 recommended the establishment

of Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmer Agricultural Labourers Development Agency (MFALDA) as target group based rural development organizations in 1971. The main objectives of the target group based strategy was 'to enable the poor farmers to gain access to services and inputs' (B.M. Desai : 1979). The strategy used was to limit the coverage of programmes to the defined target groups and localities. These agencies were to supplement the normal programmes from which the weaker sections were not getting any significant share. It was also hoped that it would arrest the growing rate of economic disparities among the rural people. Apart from improving the economic condition of the target group, it was, expected 'to ensure social justice and equality'.

In all the states separate agencies were established as registered societies to supervise the activities undertaken under this category. The important activities of these agencies were (a) ^{to} identify eligible farmers and agricultural labourers to be covered by the project and investigate their problems; (b) ^{to} formulate suitable economic programmes for providing gainful employment to the target groups keeping in view the existing facilities and resources; (c) diversification of agricultural activities for additional income and work as an institutional credit agency. The rural population indentified as beneficiaries were : (i) Small farmers who held 2.5 to 5 acres of dry land; (ii) Marginal farmers who owned 2.5 acres of dry land or less, and (iii) Landless agricultural

labourers. Thus selectivity, subsidy and credit orientation were three special features of these strategy.

Improvement of productive potential and levels of income was sought to be achieved through providing subsidies to small and marginal farmers. These were given for capital investment in land shaping, canals, drainage and irrigation. These were also supported by supply of credit from alternative credit extending financial institutions (i.e. commercial banks, etc.). Credit was considered as a means of developing the small and marginal farmers.

The SFDA/MFAL were project managements based at the district level. The DM was their chairman. Officials of various Departments were its members. This district organization finalised and supervised the activities of the project. A project officer headed it and he was assisted by officials in the specific areas in which programmes were undertaken. For implementation of their programmes, the agencies were totally dependent on the block set-up and functionaries. The BDOs acted as coordinating officers in their blocks. The VLWs were responsible for identification of the small, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. The agencies gave a regulatory flavour to the role of the block personnel and fostered ^{the} coming together of several government Departments, cooperatives and commercial banking organisations. Also, the quantum of workload on the block functionaries increased considerably.

FSS

The National Commission on Agriculture felt that small and marginal farmers were not getting full benefits of the development programme as they did not have any say in the governing and working pattern of agencies set up for their benefit. For this purpose the formation of Farmers' Service Society (FSS) as a convenient viable unit was recommended where farmers would participate in its governing body. So, the FSS was a **farmer's** organization integrating the credit function with supply of inputs and services. These were established by the lead banks of the concerned districts and registered as cooperative multipurpose societies. The FSS were headed by a Managing Director. The representatives of the beneficiaries and the promotive bank and government officials constituted the Board of Directors to manage the activities. Although the SFDA, MFAL, and FSS are grouped as target group based organizations, there were four important differences between them : one, SFDA, MFAL were government organizations whereas the FSS was a multipurpose autonomous, registered cooperative society; two, the target groups were represented on the Board of the FSS which was not in the case of SFDA and MFAL; three, ~~the~~ FSS had its own field staff for implementation of its programmes whereas the SFDA and MFAL depended on the block and other organizations; and fourth, SFDA and MFAL were covering a larger geographical area and were district based; the FSS covered a smaller geographical unit. Its headquarters were generally located in a small town with input depot at several points in the project area.

Accumulated Crisis and 20-Point Programme
of 1975

The 20-Point Programme was announced by Mrs. Gandhi in the month of July 1975. The programme was then described as a "revolutionary" assault on poverty by delivering the benefits of rural development programme directly among the poorer segments of society (Frankel : 1978 : 550). These 20 Points were supplemented by additional 5 points of late Sanjay Gandhi. At a slightly later stage, both the programmes came to be clubbed together and were known as 25-Point Programme. Some of the important points among these were : implementation of agricultural land ceiling, speedier distribution of surplus land, compilation of land records, abolition of bonded labour, stepping-up of provision of house sites for the landless and weaker sections, etc.

For the effective implementation of 20 + 5 Point Programme the State units of the Congress Party were directed to participate in the activities. It was for the first time that the Congress leadership had envisaged participation of party workers and party machinery as reinforcement mechanisms for rural development programmes. This was a major departure from the Congress tradition. During the First Five Year Plan when CDP was introduced, Nehru had asserted that there was no need of Party's participation to strengthen the activities of rural development (Karnjia : 1960 : 72). For 20 + 5 Point Programme, party implementation committees were prescribed at the state, district and block levels. Among all these committees, the one at the block level was assigned greatest

responsibilities. In these committees Govt. officials were also represented **apart** from party's office bearers, MPs and MLAs. The actual responsibility of these committees was to monitor and review the implementation of various programmes enlisted in the 20 + 5 Point Programme.

Area/Target Group Specific Programmes to Generalized Integrated Programme

On 2nd October 1980, the SFDA, MFAL, DPAP and other programmes were merged to form an Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). This programme has a comprehensive range of rural development activities. Although the official document stated that strategy adopted in IRD was quite different from target group based programmes. In practice the difference rent/between both the strategies was the widened scope of activities under the latter. The IRD is a package of activities concerned with various facets of rural society and rural population. The identification of beneficiaries remains with the officials of block set up as in the area/target group programmes. The target population in the IRD is termed as 'weaker section' without labelling them as small farmers, marginal farmers or agricultural labourers.

The implementation of the IRDP in various states has not been uniform. States such as U.P. have linked IRD with local level planning with development initiative at district and block levels. For the IRD, both block and district organization have been directed to work jointly. In case of Punjab, overall development of the State has been kept as the main goal

and selected projects have been undertaken with assured financial facilities. In Punjab's case, the IRD is very **akin** to the objectives of CDP as generalised programme for all round rural development. In Kerala, the IRD is working only in the backward areas with comprehensive programmes, which is similar to the area based strategy. So, the formulation taking the shape of a generalised strategy with variations and different approaches to rural development.

The IRD is being implemented from the district level where the development function has been, unlike the Fifties, Sixties and Seventies, given back to the regulatory wings to the administration although at the block levels the execution remains in the hands ^{of} the block personnel. The project structure at the district level has naturally been strengthened. At the district level, the project administration headed by officials like Additional District Magistrate (Project) and assisted by a number of officials. The Additional District Development Officers (ADDOs) are looking after specific areas. Thus, the location of Project administration has shifted from the block (CDP) to the district/larger area (IADP, DPAP, etc.) to block again (FSS) to the district (IRD). IRD finally **tends** to finish off the separate existence of development by integrating the major development activities with the regulative administration and making original development Project

administrations (i.e. development blocks) work under their control.

The Second 20-Point Programme

Another 20-Point Programme was announced by Mrs. Gandhi in 1982 which is revised incarnation of **the first 20-Point Programme**. The second one is generally concerned with the same type of tasks but responsibilities of executing the new programme have been given to the administration exclusively. In this case, the previous attempt to connect the political and development processes has been withdrawn. The second 20-Point Programmes in this sense, has become just an official programme like CDP, IADP and others.

For the New 20-Point Programme, implementation committees have been set up at different administrative levels. One set of these committees are represented by officials of block, district and state administrations. At the Party level, 20-Point Programme Committees are formed at state level for overseeing the implementation. The party committees are working as reviewing and monitoring committees, and are represented by party workers only. So, the new organisational structure has led to formation of a parallel structures at Government and party levels. These two do not come together in the implementation. The party structure only acts as a pressure mechanism.

Post C.D. Non-Government Rural Development Experiments

In the post C.D. period, a certain amount of disillusionment with the government stream of rural development programmes led to scattered and varied experimentation by a variety of institutions and individuals. These can be divided into six major categories on the basis of certain common characteristics:

1. Organizations of specific oppressed groups established as a result of outsiders intervention and with the specific purpose of improving the occupational and other skills of the concerned communities and without having any link with the ongoing political processes. The Barapalli experiment, in Orissa, and the Jawaja, in Rajasthan, can be included in this category.

The Barapalli experiment in Sambalpur district of rural development started in the early Fifties by the American Friends Service Committees (AFSC) based in Philadelphia. The objectives of the experiment were socio-economic development of the area through improved agricultural practices and application of mechanised technology (Franser: 1968 : 3). The activities started with the deepest religious insights to fight against suffering and to achieve human brotherhood. The oppressed groups of the community, especially the agricultural labourers and artisans, were the main targets of their activities. For executing the schemes, the Barapalli Village Service Society (BVSS) was formed as a branch of the AFSC. The BVSS

was an American fostered society and most of its decisions were taken at Philadelphia, the headquarter of the AFSC. The requisite funds for various activities also came from American voluntary associations. The composition of the BVSS were western in nature as the foreign technical hands were incharge of all the activities. Only some Indians were recruited as paid worker. The American technical staff served as voluntary workers.

A demonstration project was the local level organization of this experiment. It was entrusted with activities like (a) giving instructions to the people of the area regarding cultivation, sanitation and education, (b) training for specific activities, and (c) extending the activities in adjoining area. In response to the BVSS initiative, some cooperative organizations were also formed among the oppressed groups for production and marketing of some goods and services. The weavers' cooperative society was formed as a registered body with active participation of weavers. Similarly, leather workers' cooperative was also formed to train the workers, increase the production and introduce new technology. Formation of these cooperatives and introduction of new programmes were taken after a socio-economic survey was conducted. All these activities reduced the extent of exploitation of the target groups. However, everything happened in response to intervention of outsiders in a specific locality. This mobilization and organization of the oppressed groups was without consensitization. It was not the result of internal

efforts of the target community. Local leadership was developed to carry on the activities. As a result, intra-group rivalry, formation of interest groups negative attitude of the workers developed within the cooperatives after some time.

The Jawaja experiment was initiated by Ravi Mathai, in collaboration with his colleagues from the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad (IIMA), near Beawar area of Rajasthan. The objective of this experiment was to build-up links between formal education and informal process of development for weaker sections of the rural community (Mathai : 1977 : 1979). The activities of the experiment were confined only to one disadvantaged group, e.i. the Raigars. It was discovered that the Raigars were being exploited by money lenders and raw material suppliers for tanning and production of leather goods. A project group was formed at the IIMA to supervise the activities undertaken by the Raigars and evaluation of the work done. This group developed a distinctive method of arousing community consciousness, mobilizing and organizing them as an exploited group through group discussions and participation in community activities (In its approach and pedagogy, it is essentially different from the methodology of Paulo Ferere (1972, 1972a) and the orthodox Marxian approach to revolutionary action). The mobilization of the Raigars was visualized to be an important task of the project. This was done through development of the consciousness among them regarding their exploitation. Realization dawned on them that cooperative action was the only possible way to get rid

of exploitation. They, however, felt that the decision to act must be the decision of the people (i.e. the Raigars). The process of working in a group and building up their own organization helped them to perform common vocation jointly. As a result, the JawaJa Leather Association (JLA) came into existence with the Raigars as its members. The relationship between villagers and association became close through supply of inputs, technology design, finance and others. However, the experiment introduced new types of products and diversified the range of products. Yet, the replication of the experiment has only limited possibilities within this region due to concentration of Raigars in limited geographical area and method of experimentation.

2. A class and ideology-based organization of the oppressed groups where the organization is employed as a vehicle to fight exploitation, prevent injustices and initiate militant actions to keep exploiting forces at bay in specific places. The Bhoomi Sena of Thane and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha of Bihar come in this category.

The Bhoomi Sena (BS), a movement of tribals in Thane district of Maharashtra, aims to liberate the tribal population from oppression. The activities of this movement can be placed into two periods considering time, leadership and organizational pattern followed. After a very long and continuous period of exploitation, the tribals of the area started their movement in 1945 with the inspiration of Godavari

Parulekar and active cooperation of the communist party (Parulekar : 1975). The methodology employed by Godavari Parulekar was the standard communist strategy of establishing support with the exploited community, arousing class consciousness and cementing class formation and leading them to class struggle. It achieved temporary successes but later on the movement caved in. The second phase started in 1975 by the ideologically motivated activists from within the tribal society with three leading principles, namely, mobilization, mass consciousness and organizing them under an organisation (the BS).

The central organization of the BS was not formed as a result of formal procedure but it was spontaneous mobilization of tribals for real struggle against exploiters i.e. Swakers (De Silva, et al : 1978). The central organization was only engaged in political activities. Tarun Mandal (TM), the youth organization of BS movement, worked jointly with the central organization. It was formed in recognition to the necessity of organization and mobilization of the people at village levels to sustain the struggle. The relationship between the TM and BS was purely informal and they used to keep meeting regularly to discuss the various activities and problems. The TM was also responsible for some economic activities and social welfare for limited purposes. The BS has achieved some degree of success in its activities.

The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) followed the principles of BS generally but its basket of activities is much more wider and complex. The JMM is spread over sixteen districts of four states (West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and M.P.) although the main struggle of the JMM is centred around the coal-belt of Dhanbad and the Chhotanagpur area of Bihar. The whole Jharkhand movement has been operated mainly by a trio, A.K. Roy (minitant trade union leader), Sibu Soren (the tribal leader) and Benod Behari Mahato (the leader of Kurmis). They have been coordinating their activities for the sake of successful functioning of the morcha (Iyer and Maharaj : 1977 : 104), but have not always succeeded to work unitedly due to their different backgrounds and ideological moorings.

The JMM faction under the leadership of A.K. Roy has, succeeded to some extent, in organizing the industrial working class and peasantry within the fold of JMM for struggle against common exploiters. One of the important gains of this movement is that it has demonstrated that in the real struggle against exploiters, working class and peasantry have to be organized as proletariat for revolutionary action and change. But the total movement has failed to respond positively to this call. The operational base of the Morcha is situated at local level throughout the area but splintered central leadership is divided. In certain circumstances, they come together to arrange public meetings and celebrate some political functions, etc. The leaders of JMM are still working to make tribal and non-tribal poor conscious of their

oppression and injustices at different levels (Sengupta : 1980 : 664-671). The workers of Morcha have also introduced some non-political programmes related to production and economic development which makes it distinct in comparison to other movements.

3. Experimentation along the lines of total development of communities started first to develop one aspect but later extended to cover, on a cooperative basis, many other dimensions of rural people's lives. The Nalgonda experiment in Andhra Pradesh and Jamkhed in Maharashtra come in this category.

An experimentation with cooperative lift irrigation society was started in the village Gaddipalli, in Nalgonda district by Dr. Gopal Reddy to utilize the water resources of Nagarjunasagar Command Area Canal in 1969. After a severe drought from 1965-69 the government passed an order allowing farmers to take water from the canal for the area on the upper side of it. In this back-ground, the cooperative lift irrigation society was formed (Wade : 1976). The interesting feature of this experiment was that the society started its activities only for lift irrigation initially but as the time passed it undertook the comprehensive and coordinated activities for using the facilities created by irrigation scheme.

The cooperative society was formed by the peoples of the locality and worked in an informal manner. A sense of consciousness was created by Dr. Reddy among the farmers that

they should be organized for their economic development. This larger consciousness of coming together and working in a cooperative way was facilitated by the cooperative lift irrigation society. As the activities of the organization expanded, the organization became a comprehensive cooperative that included non-economic and even social welfare activities. As Dr. Reddy was disciple of Sri Aurobindo, some cultural and spiritual activities were also undertaken. The achievement of the experiments are (a) formation of cooperative irrigation society, (b) cooperative marketing society, (c) establishment of school with new pattern of teaching, (d) storehouse for fertilizer and grain, (e) mortgaging the land for banks' loan and using for all and new methods of land development for the command area development programme.

The Jamkhed experiment in Maharashtra was launched in 1970 by Dr. R.K. Arle and Mrs. Arle for a comprehensive rural health project. It expended its activities in the manner of Nalgonda experiment in the latter stages although in a different sequence. The sequence followed in this experiment was : the improvement of public health through community's participation in decision making; later the work related to food and drinking water was also undertaken; still later, project management decided to widen its activities to the field of agriculture, irrigation and agro-based project (poultry and dairying) for the total development of rural society (Sathi : 1978 ; Arle and Arle : 1975).

4. Autonomous organizations founded by young scientists to develop and use appropriate technologies in an effort to bring about better equilibrium of production and ecological systems. The work of young scientists and professionals in Hoshangabad in Madhya Pradesh, and Tilonia in Rajasthan comes in this category.

In Hoshangabad a socio-technical assistance programme was launched by Friends Rural Centre of Rasulia. The centre functioned as a registered society in India managed by a governing body of its own (Choudhry : 1977). The activities of the Centre were financed by the British and Canadian Society of Friends. The Agency was established and worked through camps and village meetings. The village meeting were generally for one day and organised by village leaders to discuss the various issues of agriculture, cooperative farming, animal husbandary, etc. Exhibitions were also organised on the same themes. The agricultural demonstration centre was the important organization where new farming was demonstrated.

The Tilonia experiment in Rajasthan was started by Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC) under the active leadership of Bunkur Roy. The SWRC is manned by professionals like geologists, doctors, teachers, engineers, economists and the sociologists. The goal of SWRC is provided physical facilities, expert advices and financial assistance to improve the level of living of the rural poor. Due to this reason, the target group of the experiment has always been the rural poor, specifically the tribal and weaker section of rural community (Roy:1982). In 1973, when the experiment started, a ground water survey was carried out in Silora block and then safe drinking water programme was started for scheduled caste community through installation of hand pumps. Programmes like poultry, development of unused and under-utilized land allotted to weaker sections, opening of evening schools, establishment of dispensaries and maternity centres were also undertaken. The important aspect of this experiment is the institutional and moral support to the target groups for their economic development (Franda:1979:165).

5. Organizations floated by industrial groups to provide goods and services on the commercial lives for rural development are included in this category. A number of industrial and mercantile houses have started some projects on agriculture and rural development.

The economic rehabilitation of the rural poor through food for work programme linked to afforestation, social forestry and cross breeding of local non-descript cows **is** undertaken by Bharatiya Agro Industries Foundation (BAIF) and Mafatlal Group of Companies. The method used by the Mafatlal Group is known as intensive use of one acre of land through labour intensive, high value crops and livestock by utilizing the garden technology (Mafatlal Group : 1982). The activities of this project area supervised by Sri Sadguru Seva Sangha Trust. The operation of these programmes is for the period of five years. The existing institutional structure of the concerned state governments are also utilized for this project in five states (Gujarat, U.P., M.P., **Maharashtra** and Orissa). These efforts (sector schemes, i.e. NREP & IRDP). The farmers are exempted also utilize the funds available under the public/ from payment of any charge for the facilities provided during the first five years. The subsidies from both the government and the business house are given initially to meet the expenditure on infrastructure creation. In this way beneficiaries are provided to stand on their own feet and attain economic viability in three to five years' time. They have also introduced some medical and health care programme for the rural families. Some mobile health care units are also working at the village

levels. The stated targets of all these activities are rural poor. Several other industrial houses are also engaged in similar efforts (Choudhary : 1978).

6. Rural development experiments in cooperative forms of organization. The Sugar Cooperatives of Maharashtra and Anand Milk Producers' Union Ltd. (AMUL) can be included in this category.

The sugar cooperatives of Maharashtra were formed to improve the condition of sugar cane producers on a cooperative basis. The cooperatives are engaged in activities related to promotion of production of cane, manufacturing, and marketing of sugar. These cooperatives have been formed under the cooperatives, Industrial Development and Factories Acts. At the initial stage, it was stated that only producers will be the members of these cooperatives but in the due course of time their institutional power structure has been captured by the landed interests.

The establishment of cooperative Societies has led to the emergence of a new leadership in rural areas (Baviskar : 1980). But, the gains obtained through cooperative organization from both the primary and manufacturing sectors have given the leaders of sugar cooperatives access to enormous financial resources. This clout has been used to exercise decisive influence over the state politics by the landed interests. The primary members of these sugar cooperatives have, on the other hand benefitted only marginally.

The AMUL of Kaira district in Gujarat is now a well known milk producing cooperative society is union in India. The motive behind the formation of such a cooperative was to benefit producers and to reduce their exploitation by private milk traders (Singh & Kelley : 1981). The AMUL as a cooperative and manufacturing concern operates under Industrial Development and Factories Acts. The cooperative union consists of village societies composed of local milk producers. The general body of the Board of Directors is the highest institution. It is represented by 13 Directors. The membership of the Board is restricted to registered Milk Producers' Societies and registered cooperatives supplying commodities produced by their members. In practice, primary producer members have very limited control over the management and decision making process of the cooperative society. It has happened due to technocrat's control over the management. The Union is financed by international organization like UNICEF, OXFAM and FAO. The activities of the Union started expanding from 1957 when sweetened condensed milk production was started. Cattle improvement and allied activities were undertaken for the economic development of rural people simultaneously.

A donor agencies evaluation(based on personal discussion with a member of the Evaluation Committee appointed by the European Economic Committee to appraise the work of AMUL, and allied institutions), indicates that the returns to the dairy farmers are very negligible. The methodology followed by AMUL made the milk cooperatives depend upon the metropolitan centres for inputs, outputs and credits. In the present condition

milk produced in rural areas is sent to the cities and powdered milk is coming to rural areas in response to the initiative to tackle malnutrition in rural society. The scope of employment within the cooperative society was supposed to be filled up by producers. With some exception, only Keralites have received this benefit. On the other hand, men like Kurien have received international recognition in the field of cooperatives and dairy farming whereas those made this possible remain in obscurity.

This model is now being extended to oil seeds and other communities in India even though its attempt to change its regional image to a national one through Operation Flood I and Flood II was not a success. AMUL's national incarnation, the NDDB, controlled by same set of people is now extending this model of rural development to Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Phillipines, and Gulf countries.

VI

Weaknesses of the Organisational Structures Used for Rural Development in India

From the foregoing analysis, the following emerge as the major weaknesses of the varied organisational structures used for rural development in India :

1. Assuming the Existence of Social and Economic Structure as Given : The rhetoric displayed during the freedom struggle and the period immediately after the attainment of Independence did concern itself with the hyperbole tasks such as "reconstruction of the rural society" (Ensminger : 1972; A.R. Desai :1973).

However, the freedom struggle itself was a coalition of disparate elements with contradictory social backgrounds and ideological motivations (Misra : 1974, Frankel : 1978). While the freedom struggle was on, they managed to remain together despite several splits in political forms supporting the movement, they were ideologically not reconciled to the need and vision of the types of changes which would be brought about after Independence. The same set of disparate elements assumed control of the Governmental apparatus at the Centre and in different provinces in the post-Independence period (Verma : 1975). They certainly wanted to introduce some changes in the rural society which would have led to application of improved technology in the production structure and some improvements in the levels of living of the people. These changes were to be, generally, brought about within the existing framework of socio-economic structures. Periodically, conflicting pulls and pressures within the Congress Party did force it to take seemingly radical postures 'to change drastically the social and economic structures' but the few leading lights, who really operated the levers of power, saw it to that those remained largely on paper (Frankel : 1978). The organisational structures used for different types of rural development programmes have, consequently, been designed to work with the assumption that they had to operate within the limits of the traditional socio-economic structures.

2. Absence of Linkages Between Problem Identification and Programme Formulated and Undertaken : Central and state Plan documents take about the diversity of the Indian society and the complex nature of the problems faced by the country, ingeneral, and various areas and people of different religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional backgrounds in particular. And yet, a look at the sequence of the rural development programmes and proto-types churned out from the Centre, coaxed, cajoled and, in some cases, even coerced by various international agencies and interests, would indicate that, in general, a standadized format of the programmes have been thrust down the throats of the State governments with usual package of financial assistance et al. The steps needed in programme formulation (i.e. values, goals, specific situation, analysis of the area and its people, identification of critical problems faced and process of their causation, setting goals, setting specific and measurable objectives, indicating areas of action, defining tasks and sub-tasks, Outlining approach and strategy, designing organisational framework with necessary politico-legal-jurisdictional mandate, setting time-schedules and targets monitoring, evaluation, and review reformulation) has seldom been followed in evolving rural development programmes. As such, the practice of standadized solutions (programmatic, organisational, financial and otherwise) has continued to be in vogue in different areas and for different target groups.

3. Gap between Growth and Redistribution : Economic Growth of the country, in general, and rural areas, in particular, has been achieved primarily through an increase in the production of goods and services supposedly resulting in higher national income. Massive amounts of investment have been injected in the fields of agriculture, industry, and various other sectors which come under the general rubric of 'infrastructure development'. It is true, of course, that the production of goods and services on the one hand, and national income, on the other, have been raised as a consequence. While some of this increase (variously measured in terms of per capita income, GDP, GNP) has been neutralized by an equally impressive rate of population growth, even the most ardent supporters of the Indian planning approach, models and systems concede (Financial Express Symposium : 1982, Kurian : 1978, Srinivasan and Bardhan : 1979) that largely the gains of various development programmes, in general, and rural development programmes in particular have been cornered by the vested and powerful interests. The organisational forms used have generally failed to connect the processes of economic growth with redistribution of income and gains. Partly, the technology and the production system pushed through in agriculture (and in many other sectors) has made it dependent on outside inputs, the access to which is again dependent on the asset structure of the target groups. Those not qualifying the conditions of access and these are mostly the poorest sections of the rural society have, consequently, not received most of the benefits, supposedly earmarked for them in different planned programmes.

4. Separation of Political and Development Processes : From the early part of the post-Independence period untill the introduction of 20-Point programme in 1975, the myth that has been built by the development planners in India is the so called tactical separation of the political process (supposed to be operating in terms of elections to the State Legislatures and Indian Parliament and the intra-and inter party affairs of different political parties) and development processes (dealing with bringing about changes in agriculture, industrial and allied fields). This myth has involved the neutral existence and operation of the different organisational structures designed for rural development and other programmes. The stark reality, however, is that these delivery systems have been enveloped by the structural inequalities of the rural structure and, as such, benefit mostly the upper, privileged segments of the society (Hale : in press, Sengupta : 1979, Verma : 1980). There seems to be a convincing reason in keeping this myth alive since it helps faithful reproduction of institutionalized inequalities inherent in the Indian Social Structure. This suits the ruling elite pretty well. The massive expenditures are being incurred in the name of eradicating poverty and benefitting the poor : the so called neutral delivery systems ensure, through a varies repertoire of techniques, acerual of significant benefits only to the richer segments.

5. Gradual Transformation of Rural Development Organization into Regulatory Structures : When the CDP was introduced, it was not only a new project management structure but also a new

type of system of functionaries which was, unlike the regulatory ethos left behind by the British, not insulated, unpretensions and terrorizing (Wiser and Wiser, 1971). On the other hand, it was supposed to be living among the rural people and extending, through a wide variety of communication techniques, practices generally benefiting the people. However, after the heydays of CDP, the liberal funds for the programme had dried up roughly around the mid-Sixties, the state governments, faced with the unpleasant task of keeping the CDP personnel on their pay rolls and yet not having much programmatic funds and activities, decided to entrust them with periodic, regulatory and emergency management tasks (drought, flood, cyclone, etc.). Gradually, the initial enthusiasm of the development personnel died down and it imbibed the exploitative traits displayed by the regulatory Departments (Gaikwad : 1978; Hale : in press). Later, of course, a larger number of area and target group based programmes were introduced and these brought in their trail the notorious "subsidy culture" involving siphoning off the portions of financial benefits intended for the target groups. Now, the rural development personnel does not generally go to the people; the people have no choice but to come to them for getting various kinds of recommendations, endorsements, etc. to obtain various inputs. Thus, the basic character of the rural development functionaries has undergone a major transformation which leaves the intended beneficiaries of rural development programmes at their mercy.

6. Absence of Organization, Mobilization of Oppressed Groups and Reinforcement by the Political Structure : Excepting the BS in Thane and the JMM in Bihar, even experiments such as the Jawaja, which have generally developed varied types of skills in the oppressed groups have not organisationally linked the development of these segments, in the long run, with the class-based organizations and political parties as reinforcing mechanisms. None of the governmental streams of anti-poverty programmes intend to organize the poor, educate them about the forces which are responsible for keeping them as they and certainly do not envisage mobilization and struggle. All that they aim at is distribution of doles and hope that the poor would cross the poverty line (Srinivasan and Bardhan : 1979; FES : 1982). Impact analysis of such programmes is yet to be seriously undertaken. However, indications are that the gains to the poor from such programmes would depend largely on their capacity to organize and mobilize themselves to receive the benefits intended for them.

V

Post-1977 Strategy of Rural Development in West Bengal :

In the much experimented national background and the deficiencies identified in various rural development programmes, the post-1977 strategy of rural development, organisational model and package of programmes introduced in West Bengal assumes special significance (D. Bandyopadhyay : 1980; R. Ghosh : 1981). The following of its distinctive features stand out.⁹

⁹ The detailed examination and thrust of West Bengal model can be same in Ray (forthcoming).

1. Changes in the Asset and Production Structures : To the extent permitted by the constraints imposed by the peculiar operationalization of the Indian federal structure (Verma : 1981; R. Ghosh : 1981), the Left Front government has gone in for a programme of land reforms (i.e. quick recording of the names of the sharecroppers, distribution of already available ceiling surplus government vested land, identification of Benami land, abrogation of the old revenue system, etc.). These programmes have, in turn, tremendous significance for access to the existing package of rural development programme introduced since the early Fifties by the Congress government and which continue to be operative in West Bengal as elsewhere.

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2. Class-based Organization of the Oppressed Groups for Concerted Action Against Exploitation and Extracting Rightful Benefits from the Various Development Institutions : Various categories of non-privileged classes (the landless agricultural labourers, Bargadars, small and marginal farmers, and rural artisans) have been organized, by various constituents of the Left Front (LF) as class based groups and their conscientization about their critical problems and their causes. It has widened their knowledge of existing reality. Coming together has conferred on them a clout which is relatively difficult to ignore by the different levels of rural development machinery. These class-based organizations are, in turn, linked up with other and wider class based organizations together forming an umbrella of the proletariat. In times of struggle, mutual support increases the effectiveness of these organizations. Of course, rivalry among the different

constituents of the LF to control such organizations and, to that extent, expand their cadres does exist.

3. Reinforcement of Execution of Rural Development Programmes Through Party Machinery : In the implementation of 36 Point Common Minimum Programme adopted by the LF, the class based organizations of the oppressed groups have been reinforced by the active participation of the political parties at district, block and panchayat levels. The election of panchayat bodies on party lines and assumption of limited power by the elected leadership in these bodies representing generally the same ideological background has been another helpful factor. Together these have reduced the combined exploitative capability of the development and regulatory bureaucracies. To that extent, the chances of increased benefits flowing to the defined categories of the major rural development programmes have increased.

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